

ADDRESSES

BY THE

Hon. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, LL.D.

Detroit Chamber of Commerce,

May 2, 1895.

New York Chamber of Commerce,

May 23, 1895.

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New York State Bar Association, Albany,

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Address before the New York Bar Association
by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.,
at Albany, January 21, 1896.

PATRIOTISM AND JINGOISM.

THE LAWYER'S DUTY.

Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Bar Association of the State of New York :

You will not expect of me a technical discussion of constitutions, codes or statutes. The needs of the state or the country in these respects will be ably presented in the papers which will be read during your session.

A meeting of the lawyers of this great commonwealth has a profounder meaning than suggestions for amendments to laws or facilities in procedure. By virtue of our official distinction as officers of the court there devolve upon us public duties of the greatest importance. The larger the question and the greater the perils involved in its decision, the more clear is the

mission of the Bar Association to give to the subject its attention and to the country the results of its calm deliberation. Never during the seventeen years of our existence has our meeting been held at a period so interesting and at the same time so fraught with dangers.

Ours is a lawyer's government. It was the agitation by the patriotic members of the profession which brought on the Revolutionary War. It was the conservative wisdom of the lawyers which framed the Constitution of the United States. Twenty of our twenty-four presidents have been lawyers, as were twenty-four of the fifty-four signers of the Declaration of Independence, and thirty of the fifty-five members of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. A large majority of the members of both houses of Congress, and of both houses of the legislatures of the several states have always been, and still are, members of the profession.

The checks and safeguards against revolutionary action which distinguish the institutions of the United States from those of all other democracies are the fruits of the wisdom and foresight of great minds trained to the law. Therefore the sentiment contained in Cicero's

famous maxim, "Silent leges inter arma," is specially pregnant for the hour. Cicero was the greatest lawyer of his time, and of the whole Roman period. Like most of the eminent members of the bar in our days, he was also an orator and a statesman of the foremost rank. In the forum and in the senate he had fearlessly defended the right and assailed the wrong, and maintained justice and liberty. A craze for conquest had created armies. Wonderful victories had made famous generals, and triumphal processions had inflamed and intoxicated the people. He saw what no other statesman of his period did, that beside the captive chained to the chariot of the conqueror as it proudly rolled along the Appian Way with the acclaim of the multitude, stalked also in chains the figure of Roman Liberty. This wrung from him the sentence which has become one of our legal maxims. Cæsar crossed the Rubicon. The army and the people gave him dictatorial power. The patriots assassinated him. The army executed the patriots. The successful general and dictator instructed his soldiers to pursue and kill the great lawyer, not for any crime, but for words spoken in debate in the Senate of Rome for the republic and against its arch enemy.

When Cicero's throat was cut upon the highway by the soldiers of Antony, the body of Roman law, which protected life and property, and judicially decided rights and remedied wrongs, and which had been five hundred years in slow and laborious construction, was buried with his blood. From that time until the Dark Ages the will of the autocrat of the hour was the law of the world. It devastated provinces. It depopulated countries. It made deserts of vast territories. It consigned to untimely graves with every form of horror and suffering untold millions of the human race. The falling temple of liberty carried down in its ruins civilization, law, learning, art, humanity and religion. Centuries passed by, all dedicated to war, until the Church arrested its savagery for the moment by the Truce of God. This declaration of the pious and renowned Bishop of Aquitaine is the foundation of the jurisprudence of modern times. By the Truce of God, for four days in the week one simple law of life and liberty prevailed. The traveler could be upon the highway, the merchant dispose of his goods, the artisan work in his factory, the farmer follow his plough, the housewife and the maiden be afield garnering the harvest, without fear of murder, outrage,

conscription or robbery. But, for ages yet to come, under the necessities for protection, induced by perpetual wars, Europe was divided into masters and slaves,—the masters the feudal lords and their armed retainers,—the slaves, the tillers of the soil, the artizans and laborers. The tradition and education of the ages that rights could only be established and wrongs could only be redressed by the sword, created the Law of the Sword. For hundreds of years all disputes were settled by the gauge of battle. Titles to real estate, difficulties as to boundary lines, questions of contract and of tort, matters of inheritance and the settlement of estates were submitted to private combat for “justice.” The courts met at the appointed places. The judges sat clothed in their robes of office. The criers of the court announced the case, and the litigants entered the lists armed for the fray. The rules for the combat were as well established as the rules of trial are in the courts to-day. The theory over it all and under it all was that the “God of Battles” would be on the right side. Cromwell, who was intensely religious, fought for his faith. Napoleon, who had no religion, fought for glory. Each declared that God was on the side of the strongest bat-

talions. The Almighty in these judicial combats evinced His abhorrence of them by so far withholding His interposition that the most skilled athlete and the best trained duellist always succeeded. So strong is the power of custom that this right to appeal to private combat by the dropping of a glove before the judge, that the arbitrament of arms actually remained a part of the statute law of England's colonies in America until the independence of our Republic—and of England herself until 1818. Nay, more, it survived in active practice until fifty years ago, in the form of the duel, in nearly every part of this country. No man could retain his position at the bar or in society who would refuse a challenge. In the ante-bellum days hundreds of brilliant young lawyers who went to the South to try their fortunes were challenged by the best shots of the local bar, who wanted to remove the dangerous competition of their Yankee rivals; and many of them fell before the bullets of the trained duellists to whom, below the Mason and Dixon line, pistol practice was an essential part of a gentleman's education.

The best evidence of healthy public sentiment, or rather of Christian civilization and enlightenment in the law, is that to-day the man

who loses caste in the duel is not he who refuses, but he who challenges. In every state in the Union the duellist has become by statute a felon, and the most striking instance of any of the change in public sentiment is that juries never hesitate to convict him of a crime. Public sentiment now declares that true courage hands the duellist or would-be duellist over to the police, and appeals to the law for the adjustment of difficulties.

While this healthful advance in civilization and this undoubted public sentiment supporting it, mark the new relations between individuals, there has been little if any progress in the peaceful, lawful and orderly settlement of international disputes, involving communities.

The barbarous, murderous and uncertain methods of the ancient and the medieval periods still prevail. The alarms of war agitate a world. The columns of our daily papers are filled with cables and telegrams announcing the rage of nations and the imminence of their flying at each other's throats. The battle blood, which is the inheritance of the ages, is aflame for fight.

Only one power keeps the nations of Europe from instantly declaring war. The bankers and business men have become the arbiters between

nations. In modern conflicts so vast and expensive are the preparations for and operations of war that the longest purse wins. Neither Germany nor France, nor Austria nor Italy, nor Russia nor Spain can hurl their armies at each other and equip their navies for fight without the consent of the great bankers of the world. The only two nations which may be said to be free from this thralldom, because of their wealth, their commerce and credit, are the United States and Great Britain. "War," said Erasmus, "is the malady of princes." He might have added, the danger of republics.

The spirit of war—largely the inheritance of the dynastic ambitions of royal houses—is the chief incentive to the employment of the best inventive genius for engines of destruction. Improvements in naval architecture are first for war and next for commerce. If armor is made which will resist a new shell, there follows the gun that will fire the shot which will pierce the armor. If a "magazine" is constructed which will destroy its score of human beings in as many seconds, along comes the machine gun which will kill its hundreds of fathers, brothers, sons and husbands in the same time. The resources of chemistry and electricity are exhausted to dis-

cover the implements by which great armies may be annihilated in an hour.

The events of the past few weeks have demonstrated how easy it is to arouse the fighting blood among our own people. A generation has come upon the stage since the Civil War who are eager for battle.

The greatest ministers and leaders for peace whom I ever met were the generals whose fame fills the world, and whose victories were in our civil strife—Grant and Sherman and Sheridan. During the whole of their lives after the war they were the apostles and preachers of peace.

An Eastern writer says: "We have furnished a great and famous soldier whom your historians scarcely mention, but who ought to rank above Cæsar or Hannibal or Napoleon, and his name and title are Genghis Khan. To him belongs the unequaled glory of having slain 18,400,000 human beings in eleven years." He had a definite object, which was to destroy cities and villages and make the whole world a pasture field for nomadic tribes. Attila, the Scourge of God, on the other hand, made it his proud boast that no grass ever grew upon the fields which had suffered the hoof beats of his horses. How much greater, how much nobler, how much more hu-

mane was the sentiment of the philosopher who said that "the true benefactor of mankind is the one who makes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before."

Napoleon, at St. Helena, made this apologetic remark: "I only killed a million of men in all my wars." He did not mention the ten millions who died from starvation in the wildernesses which he left behind him.

The strongest evidence of the fervor and force of this sanguinary sentiment among us to-day is the action of Congress upon the President's Venezuela Message. By the Constitution of the United States the war power belongs to Congress, and yet the Senate and House of Representatives, with unanimity and hot haste, rushed to record their approval of what they believed at the time to be a declaration of war, and their chaplain appealed to the Prince of Peace with this marvelous invocation: "O Lord, may we be quick to resent anything like an insult to our nation; so may Thy Kingdom come and Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Amen." One does not know, in the presence of such a travesty upon the Sermon on the Mount, whether to say "Good Lord!" or to exclaim "Great Scott!" The lesson seems to be enforced that a hasty or passionate

President could plunge the nation into war, and the reason and justification for its sacrifices of blood and treasure and industrial interests would be left for academic discussion after the strife was over.

There are to-day in Europe—on a so-called peace footing—seven millions of men in arms. Every laborer, as he goes to his shop or to his work in the fields, carries upon his back and keeps upon his back during the whole of his day a fully armed soldier. The combined war debts of these governments are sixteen thousand millions of dollars. Such are the burdens under which anarchy grows and socialism thrives, and populations seek by emigration to the wilds of Asia and the wastes of Africa and the tropical countries of South America, as well as to our own more favored land, an escape from intolerable conditions.

There are occasions when war is both right and necessary, and a nation must embark upon it without counting the consequences, but the issue of battle is never certain, nor does the arbitrament of war always end in right or justice. The struggle between Prussia and Austria for supremacy in the German Empire was decided not by the merits of the case, but by the needle

gun in the hands of the Prussians used against the old-fashioned musket of the Austrians. To his everlasting honor, the old King of Prussia, the first Emperor of Germany, a soldier born in camps and whose life was practically passed in arms, gave his best efforts for the maintenance of the peace of Europe. Napoleon the Third, to sustain a falling dynasty, declared war and lost his throne, deprived France of two of her fairest provinces and put upon her a load of debt involving grinding taxation.

Our war of 1812 was right if our dispute with Great Britain and our demand for fair treatment and justice could not be settled by arbitration. It is a curious and impressive fact that the purpose for which that war was made was not gained by the war. The *casus belli* was not considered in the treaty of peace, but was settled afterwards by arbitration. The Civil War might have been averted at one time by payment of a proper indemnity to the owners of the slaves. In the passions of the hour that period passed by, and the slaves were freed and the Republic held together by our great civil strife. But the cost of the war was half a million people killed, a million crippled and wounded, the devastation and destruction of all the material interests and visible property of

ten states, and the loss in money of four thousand millions of dollars on the one side and as much on the other. The Republic united and free is worth all that it cost both in blood and treasure, and much more ; and yet, had the South been as strong in credit and resources, with as large an available fighting population as the North, it is doubtful whether a war between men of the same blood, each thinking they were fighting for the right, would not have ended in a drawn battle.

The argument has recently been advanced by Bismarck, by the London *Times*, and only the other day by a distinguished Judge speaking to a company of students, that without war the moral tone of a people deteriorates, and they lose a fine sense of patriotism and a keen appreciation of national honor. At the breaking out of the Civil War, of the thirty millions of people in the United States there were not twenty-five thousand who had had any actual experience of campaigns ; and these few veterans had only served in the Mexican War of twelve or fifteen years before. Ours was pre-eminently a peaceful population. For three generations the blood of the people had not been stirred by a great conflict nor themselves called to arms. And yet when the flag was fired upon, and the existence

of the Republic was at stake, there was a popular uprising and enlistment such as was never before known in ancient or in modern times. There were in this country three millions of men in arms on the one side or the other. At Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, Chickamauga, Vicksburg, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the bloody Battle of the Wilderness, and Sherman's March to the Sea, were exhibited valor, heroism and patriotism of a higher and nobler type than any other age can boast. The lawyers did their best to bring about a peaceful settlement between the North and the South; but when the armed struggle came, they enlisted for the war, in proportion to their number, in far greater ratio than any other profession, calling or vocation. Nearly all the volunteer officers who became brigadier and major-generals, and won distinction equal to that attained by the gallant graduates of West Point, were members of the profession of the law. No lawyer better fulfilled his duty to his profession, lived up to a higher ideal in politics and in public life, or performed more heroic deeds upon the battlefield than that brave and distinguished member of our Association who died within the last week, General Francis C. Barlow.

Now is the time for the profession to perform

a great work upon the lines of the lawyers of the centuries in promoting international arbitration. The present dispute between the English-speaking races which is agitating the world calls for both practical wisdom and legal acumen for its solution. There is no dissent in this country from the Monroe Doctrine as promulgated by President Monroe and interpreted by Jefferson, Madison, Webster and Calhoun. Alexander Hamilton, the foremost lawyer of the revolutionary period, and one of the greatest creative geniuses of our country, stated this rule for our guidance in the *Federalist* with that clearness of insight into the future by which he stamped upon our institutions the elements of conservatism and perpetuity. No European aggressions upon the Americas which would endanger our safety or subject our sister republics to European despotism will be permitted by the United States. Yet any one who studies the Monroe Doctrine will see how in each individual case, except where there is a flagrant violation, like the French invasion of Mexico, the applicable interpretation of it should be the subject of judicial determination. The President's message to Congress presents a novel view of the principle. If there is a dispute as to a boundary line between a South American

Republic and a European power, no matter how insignificant the territory involved, or how distantly it affects the independence of the country, or how remotely it may interest us, we must demand that the two governments arbitrate the line, and if they refuse, we must find out as best we can what the line is and enforce it by war. If, however, pending our inquiry, the two parties agree, we have no further rights or duties. This seems to surrender the doctrine, if Venezuela or Brazil chooses to sell a portion of its lands. A slight extension of the principle compels us to assume a protectorate over all these republics. Their enterprises and industries are almost entirely owned or controlled and carried on by Americans, English, Germans, French and Italians. Their governments are in almost perpetual revolution, and the military dictator of the hour confiscates property right and left, except that of foreigners. If he could rely upon the United States to protect him, he would treat the lives, possessions and business of the Germans, English, Italians and French with the same impartial appropriation as he does those of his countrymen. These nations would demand reparation and redress. This would involve the collection of substantial damages, and we would be in a measure bound to assume the

quarrel. We might, at the whim or necessities of the successful military dictator of Venezuela or the Argentines, of Brazil or Ecuador, of Paraguay or Peru, of Yucatan or Honduras, of Chili or Bolivia, be involved in frequent wars with the powers of Europe. This would require an immense navy and large standing army.

The feeling in the United States against Great Britain is more easily aroused than against other countries for many reasons. In the first place, we are blood relations, and family quarrels are always hasty and fierce. Our battles of the Revolution and of the war of 1812 have been with England. The attitude of her government during our Civil War was specially irritating, and disputes about boundary lines and fisheries have frequently arisen. The diplomatic correspondence of her Ministers, especially of those who have not visited America, is often characterized by a spirit of paternal chiding or coddling which we rightly and vehemently resent. But while this feeling exists to a large extent with us, there has come into power in Great Britain—and we have scarcely noticed it—indeed, it has only been brought strongly and convincingly to our attention by the recent terrific outbreak against Germany—a force un-

known and unheard of at the time of George III., or the war of 1812, or even our Civil War. It is the all-powerful democracy of Great Britain, which universal suffrage has brought to the front, and which is to-day the real power in the British Islands. This force is cordial in its friendship for our people and country. There are no obstacles in the way of a peaceful adjustment, upon a permanent basis, of all present and future difficulties between the democratic spirit—the people—of the United States and the democratic spirit—the people—of Great Britain.

Unless we should be driven to it by a stress of circumstances not now perceptible, or by difficulties and dangers which cannot be averted in any other way, we do not want a great standing army. It would be a menace to our peace, a menace to capital, and a menace to labor. In a republic a dictator always stands in the shadow of a large regular army. We require a navy sufficiently large to protect American citizens and American commerce in any part of the globe. We should have our ports in condition to be defended in the possible, but scarcely probable, event of war with a foreign nation. But to have a navy on a footing with the great sea powers of Europe, and a standing

army equal on a peace footing to the emergency of sudden hostilities, involves just the dangers of foreign entanglements against which Washington warned his countrymen in his farewell address. The maintenance of this force in idleness would take permanently half a million of youth from our industries, and the Federal Government would either have to meet an enormous annual deficit of revenue by piling up debt, or resort to the process of direct taxation upon the people.

The United States is the only nation so situated that it can with honor and safety move upon the pathway of peace for an international Court of Arbitration. North of us lies Canada with its vast territories—larger in area than the United States—but with a sparse population of some five millions of people. It seeks no war. It wants no hostilities and no disagreements with our Republic. It is anxious for commercial union. Political union will follow whenever we desire to extend the invitation. So there is no danger from Canada. To the South of us is Mexico, with only twelve millions of people, of whom ten millions are Indians, uneducated and degraded. We need fear nothing from Mexico ; nor do we want her.

That population incorporated into our political system would corrupt our suffrage. The presidency of the United States and the political control of the Republic might be decided by the Indians of Mexico. Farther away are the Republics of the Isthmus of Darien and of South America. The perpetual wars between these nations, and the constant internal revolutions and feuds which have characterized them, have left that part of the western hemisphere at the end of three hundred years,—though its climate, soil and resources are as attractive and great as those of the north,—with a scattered population of fewer than twenty millions, two-thirds of whom are Indians and half-breeds. We have no fear of them. And now look at Europe. It is three thousand miles across the ocean from the nearest seaport of any European power to any seaport of the United States. Our country has seventy millions of people, and seventy billions of dollars of accumulated wealth. So great has been our prosperity because of one hundred and two years of peace and only five of war, so free have we been from the strifes which have exhausted the resources of Europe, that the taxing power of the government has not yet touched for any

purpose the real and personal property represented in these seventy thousand millions of dollars of accumulated wealth. According to the census of 1890, we have 9,200,000 fighting men. The experience of the Civil War has shown that from them could be drafted, mobilized and instructed in three months three millions of soldiers. All the transports and navies of the world could not land upon our shores an army which could march 100 miles from the sea coast, or ever return to their ships. With all the world in arms against us, the vast interior of our continent, except in its industrial and economic phases, would know nothing of the trouble and never see a foreign uniform—except on a prisoner of war. Secure in our isolation, supreme in our resources, unequaled in our reserves, and free from dangerous neighbors, we occupy among the nations of the globe a position so exalted and safe that to compare us with other countries would be absurd. The statesman or the politician who really fears for the safety of this country is a fool. The statesman or politician who does not fear (because he knows better), and who yet preaches of our weakness and our vulnerability, is a demagogue, and he insults the intelli-

gence of the American people. This great reservoir of force for all purposes,—the American Republic,—this mightiest engine of war and most beneficent power for peace on the face of the globe, can extend the right hand of fellowship to warring brethren across the Atlantic and promulgate with honor and dignity a scheme for an international tribunal, and lead in the movement.

The first crisis in our national history came soon after the machinery of our government was put in motion by the first President, General Washington. The people demanded a war with England, to help France, when we had neither arms nor credit nor money, and France was powerless and almost bankrupt in her revolutions and her internal and international complications. The United States needed commerce and trade; needed the freedom of the seas; needed the control and improvement of its rivers and inland lakes for the development of its resources. It required peace, rest, and opportunity to attract immigration, to build its states, to utilize its vast water power, and to bring out its exhaustless treasures from field, forest and mine. The task for peaceful settlement was entrusted to the head of the bar of the United States, the Chief Justice

of the Supreme Court, John Jay. With infinite tact, with marvelous wisdom, with judicial candor and legal acumen he performed his immeasurably great duty. For the first time in treaties between nations was inserted, through his influence, a declaration for the adjustment of all disputes between the United States and Great Britain by arbitration. Under the beneficent working of this principle, nearly one international case a year has been settled during the past eighty years. These cases have excited no comment, because it is only war which illumines the sky, and, in the baleful conflagration which consumes peoples and properties, attracts the attention of the world. General Grant held it to be a crown as glorious as that of Appomattox that he brought about the Genevan arbitration under this clause of the treaty of Chief Justice Jay. The people of the English-speaking nations must get beyond the narrow idea of accidental arbitration for each case as it may occur, with its semi-partisan organization, and agree in constituting a permanent international court.

Massachusetts and Rhode Island had a difficulty which in other cases would have led to war or intestinal feuds. It was settled by the Supreme Court of the United States. Missouri and

Iowa would be at each other's throats, but the Supreme Court of the United States calmly considered the questions at issue between them, and its judgment was accepted. The question of the liberty of Dred Scott went to this tribunal in the midst of the most passionate political discussion of the century. The decision of the court was against the dominant sentiment of the hour, but it was accepted until legislation and constitutional provisions remedied the difficulty. The great debate over the income tax divided sections and parties, and in the arena of politics the matter was pregnant with political revolutions. The Supreme Court decided the question one way, and one judge of the nine, changing his opinion upon reflection, reversed the judgment. The country at once accepted the decision as the verdict of justice and of right.

Had there been an international court of arbitration in the Venezuelan matter, Lord Salisbury could not have pleaded that there was a boundary line embracing territory so long and unquestionably held by the British that they could not in honor submit the question of their title to the court. Both the English and the Americans have been educated to believe that though anybody may make a claim upon any property, the

court can be relied upon to dismiss the complaint, if it is unworthy of being entertained, or disavow jurisdiction, should there be any doubt, or if it considers the matter, to adjust it upon the eternal principles of justice and right. The idea of securing at any early date an international court representing and embracing all the nations of Europe and of North and South America is probably at present Utopian. The tremendous war spirit existing among the peoples of continental Europe, the officeholding and patronage of their armies, the problems of race, balance of power and dynasty involved, would deter any of those nations from an immediate acceptance of the international court. But the United States and Great Britain have no reason to be guided by the standards of the continent. They have the same common law. Their legislation has been for the past fifty years along similar lines of progress and liberty. Their courts and methods of procedure are alike in most of their characteristics. The cases reported and principles settled in each country are quoted as authority in the courts of the other. American lawyers have found it not difficult to become great in the English forum, and English, Scotch and Irish lawyers have been successful at the American bar.

We speak the same language, we read the same Bible, and the interests over which we clash are always susceptible of judicial construction and adjudication upon principles which we mutually understand. It is possible for these two great countries, out of this present difficulty, to evolve a tribunal of international law and justice which shall be in perpetual session, whose members shall be selected with such care, whose dignity shall receive such recognition, and whose reputation shall be so great, that each nation can submit to it any question in dispute and bow to its decision with safety and honor.

We, the lawyers of the United States, and our brethren the lawyers of Great Britain, faithful to the traditions of our profession and the high calling of our order, can agitate and educate for the creation of this great court. We recall that even in the days of almost universal assent to the divine authority of kings, Justice Coke could boldly challenge and check the autocratic Charles with the judgment that the law was superior to the will of the sovereign. Christian teachings and evolution of two thousand years, and the slow and laborious development of the principles of justice and judgment by proof, demand this crowning triumph of ages of sacri-

fice and struggle. The closing of the nineteenth, the most beneficent and progressive of centuries, would be made glorious by giving to the twentieth this rich lesson and guide for the growth of its humanities and the preservation and perpetuity of civilization and liberty.

Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.,
before the Republican Club of New
York, at the Lincoln Dinner,
February 12, 1896.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

'Celebrations of the anniversaries of heroes and statesmen, of battlefields and significant events, have, as a rule, only an historical interest. They lack the freshness and passion of touch and attachment. It has always been the habit of peoples to deify their heroes. After a few generations they are stripped of every semblance to humanity. We can reach no plane where after the lapse of a hundred years we can view George Washington as one of ourselves. He comes to us so perfect, full-rounded and complete that he is devoid of the defects which make it possible for us to love greatness. The same is largely true of all the Revolutionary worthies, except that the Colonial Dames have raised or lowered Benjamin Franklin to the level of our vision by deciding that he was so human that his descendant in the fourth generation is unworthy of their membership. Thank Heaven, we can still count as one of ourselves, with his humor

and his sadness, with his greatness and his everyday homeliness, with his wit and his logic, with his gentle chivalry that made him equal to the best-born knight and his awkward and ungainly ways that made him one of the plain people, our martyred President, our leader of the people, Abraham Lincoln.

The Revolutionary War taught liberty from the top down; the Civil War taught liberty from the people up to the colleges and the pulpits. The Revolutionary struggle was the revolt of property against unjust taxation until it evolved into independence. It was the protest of the leaders in commercial, industrial and agricultural pursuits against present and prospective burdens. Sublime as were its results and beneficent as was the heritage which it left behind, there was a strong element of materialism in its genesis and motive. The Civil War threw to the winds every material consideration in the magnificent uprising of a great and prosperous people moved to make every sacrifice for patriotism, for country and for the enfranchisement of the bondmen. The leaders of the Revolutionary struggle represented Colonial success. Washington was the richest man in the United States. Jefferson and Hamilton, Jay and the Adamses were the best

products of the culture of American colleges and of opportunity. In the second period, when the contest was for the supremacy of the principle of the preservation of the Union against the destructive tendencies of State rights, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay represented the American farmers' sons who had also received the benefits of liberal education. In the third period, the protest against the extension of slavery, the war for the Union and the reconstruction of the seceded states, with the contributions which came to our statesmanship from the newly settled territories, we had the heroes born in the log cabins. Their surroundings and deprivations were not those of poverty, but of struggle. The log cabin in the new settlement, with civilization, the school, the academy and the university not far distant, were the training schools of independence and greatness. From these homes in the woods Grant and Sherman went to West Point and Garfield to Williams and the Presidency. The makers of our history during the last fifty years have come largely from the log cabin or its scarcely more ambitious successor, the primitive farmhouse. The great leader who was to wield more power in his time than any ruler in the world, who was to hold his authority

by the continued and increasing confidence of the people, was destined to be born and reared amidst surroundings and conditions which never before had produced a man capable of making an impression upon the history of his country. He was born in the log cabin, but it was not the log cabin of the frontier settlement, with its unclouded horizon of new states and great cities, and of limitless development along the lines of education, science and material prosperity. It was the log cabin of the poor white of the South while slavery existed, with its helplessness, its hopelessness, its idleness and paralysis of mental and moral ambition. A little clearing in the wilds of Kentucky from which enough could be raised simply to support life; a shiftless wandering to Indiana and a repetition of the experience; another shiftless movement to Illinois, with no better results; a neighborhood of rough, ignorant, drinking and quarreling young men, and with no advantages of books, of household teachings, of church influences, of gentle companionship—these were the environments from which came, without stain, the purest character, the noblest, the most self-sacrificing and the loftiest statesman of our country or of any country. The age of miracles has passed, and yet, unless he

can be accounted for upon well-defined principles, Lincoln was a miracle. At twenty years of age, dressed in skins, never having known a civilized garment, he was the story-teller of the neighborhood, the good-natured giant who, against rough and cruel companions, used his great strength to defend the weak and protect the oppressed. He thirsted for knowledge, and yet was denied the opportunities for its acquisition, and he exhausted the libraries for miles around, whose resources were limited to five volumes, "Pilgrim's Progress," "Robinson Crusoe," "Weems's Washington," a short history of the United States and the Bible. As a laborer upon the farm he was not a success, because he diverted his fellow laborers from their work with his marvelous gift of anecdote and his habit of mounting a stump and eloquently discussing the questions of the day. As a flatboatman upon the Mississippi he was not a success, because while he was among the class which delighted to call themselves half horse and half alligator in their mad debauches on the route and in New Orleans, he was not of them. As the keeper of a country store he was not a success, because his generous nature could not refuse credit to the poor who he knew could never pay, and he could

not perform the dishonest act of so manipulating his accounts that those of his customers who could respond should make up, through an increase of price or the falsification of their pass-books, for those who could not. As a surveyor he was a failure, because his mind was upon other and larger questions than the running of a boundary line. As a lawyer he was successful only after many years of practice, because unless he was enlisted for right and justice he could not give to the case either his eloquence or his judgment. As a member of the Legislature of Illinois he made little mark, for the questions were not such as stirred his mighty nature. As a member of Congress he came to the front only once, and then on the unpopular side. The country was wild for war, for the acquisition of territory by conquest, and for an invasion of the neighboring republic of Mexico. When to resist the madness of the hour meant the present, and, perhaps, permanent annihilation of political prospects, among the few who dared to rise and protest against war, and especially an unjust one, was Abraham Lincoln.

As he was then so he was through his whole life, the evangel of peace, seeking by every possible means to promote amicable relations among the discordant sections of his own country and

between his own country and foreign powers. But when the enemy would accept no suggestion, no offer of friendship, and reciprocate no kindness; when the stake was liberty, union and the preservation of the Republic, then this man of peace could be the concentrated energy of war. He could unloose all the elements of destruction and invoke the aid of God for the extermination of the enemies of his country, believing that he had a right to call upon Deity because those enemies were equally, in his judgment, the enemies of God.

The orators of all times have had previous orators for their models, and they have formed their styles upon the examples of the geniuses of the past. Old Sam Johnson dominated generations with his turgid periods; Addison other generations with his simple and liquid beauty; while Chatham and Burke, Macaulay and Patrick Henry, and Otis and Fisher Ames were the models of our schools and academies. Daniel Webster had all the resources of Dartmouth and the Boston libraries for that ponderous and tremendous eloquence which saved his alma mater in the Supreme Court of the United States, and planted on impregnable foundations the doctrine of the Union of the States in the Senate of the

United States. Seward and Chase, Garrison and Channing, and Phillips and Beecher were instructed by professors of rhetoric and teachers in elocution and the leaders of thought in our English tongue. But Lincoln formed his style by writing compositions with a piece of charcoal upon shingles or upon the smooth side of a wooden shovel, and copying them afterwards upon paper. The shingle was limited in area and paper was scarce in the wilds of Indiana and Illinois. In this school, poverty of resources taught Lincoln condensation and clearness, and he learned that the secret of success in appealing to the people is directness and lucidity. Cæsar had it when he cried, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*" Luther had it when he cried, "Here I stand, I can do no other; God help me, Amen." Cromwell had it when he cried to his soldiers, "Put your trust in God and keep your powder dry." Napoleon had it when, before the battle of the Pyramids, he called upon his soldiers to remember that forty centuries looked down upon them. Patrick Henry had it when he uttered those few sentences which have been the inspiration of the schoolbooks since the Colonial days. Webster had it when he said, "Union and liberty, one and inseparable, now and for ever." Grant had it when he said,

“I will fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.” And Lincoln had it when he drew to him the men and women of his country by the tender pleadings of his first inaugural, by the pathetic, almost despairing appeal of his second inaugural, and by that speech at Gettysburg which made every hero who had died a soldier again in the person of a new hero created to take his place by that marvelous invocation. He expressed in a single sentence the principle and the policy of the purchase of Louisiana and the supremacy of the United States upon the North American Continent when he said, “The Mississippi shall go unvexed to the sea.” He added to the list of immortal utterances which go down the ages to lead each new generation to higher planes of duty and patriotism, “With malice toward none, with charity for all.” “We here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain—that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom—and that the government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

Beyond the rulers of every age Lincoln was the leader of the people—of what he called the plain people. His training in the wilderness, in the rough surroundings of his boyhood and early

manhood, and as a lawyer upon the circuit, with the judges, the counsel, the jurymen and the witnesses, and his experience upon the stump in direct contact with great audiences, had made him understand and know the sentiment of the American fireside as no other statesman ever did. A more timid President would have made concessions which would have disrupted the country. A more rash and radical President would have moved so fast that he would have lost the northern support and sundered the Republic. But when those who would sacrifice everything for peace—and they constituted almost a majority of the North—wanted him to recognize in some form or another, at different stages of the war, the Southern Confederacy, he was as immovable as a rock; and when others, like Ben Wade, Winter Davis, Horace Greeley, Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison, were denouncing him because he would not abolish slavery, he was again as immovable as a rock. He knew as no other man did, as Cabinets and Congresses did not know, the sentiments and feelings of the plain people of the Northern States. He knew that they loved beyond everything else the Union, and he would move only so fast as over the electric currents, which connected his heart and

brain with every fireside in the land, came the tidings to him that they were ready for another advance along the lines of revolutionary action which would preserve the Union. He had the Emancipation Proclamation in his desk for months while he was subjected to every kind of attack and assault, because he knew that the time had not arrived for issuing it. But when defeat after defeat had brought the country to a full understanding of the desperation of the struggle and that all means must be used if the Union should be saved, as soon as Antietam gave the justification, he freed the slave.

Tradition and education teach the statesmen to approach the people of the country through their representatives. The speech from the throne or the message of the President goes to Parliament or to Congress, and through Parliament or Congress to the country. Lincoln, unlike all other rulers, believed the people of the United States in their homes—the men and women of the country at their firesides—were a parliament always in session. By letters to conventions, to popular assemblages, to newspaper editors and to individual citizens, he was arguing day by day, and week by week, and month by month, with the people of the United States the questions

affecting his duty in the means which he should take to preserve for them the Republic and their heritage of priceless liberties.

At the day of his death Lincoln possessed a power in the United States which no President ever before had, not even Washington. Courts and Congresses were his servants, and armies and navies the obedient ministers of his will. His death set back into the realm of passion the reconstruction of the States. Had he lived, a plan would have been carried through by him which would have prevented the horrors and scandals of the period, would have established the fact that in being the best friend of the South upon the lines which he had laid out, he was also adopting the wisest policy for his country.

The great characters of history are always dramatic. It is not because they wish to be spectacular, but because the majestic events in the drama of nations make them unconscious actors upon this wonderful stage. Lincoln was one of the most distinguished actors of modern times. He performed his part superbly, whether in comedy or melodrama or tragedy. The accomplished, the erudite, the able and the strategic Seward, looking with distrust upon this awkward backwoodsman, sent him a program

for the management of the Government by more experienced minds, to receive back the message that the Springfield lawyer would run the Government himself and ask such assistance from his Cabinet as he might think he required. The reception held by the President day by day was a series of amusing or affecting scenes. To the millionaires of New York, claiming protection for their palaces and their banks when the "Merrimac" escaped from Hampton Roads, he said with grim humor, "The treasury is empty; the navy was sunk yesterday; but if I was as 'skeered' as you seem to be and had as much money as you claim to have I would go back to New York and find some means of defending my property." To Lord Hartington, who, it had been reported to him, had worn a Confederate favor at a ball in New York, he gave the strange greeting, as he crushed his lordship's hand in his vicelike grip, "My dear Lord Hartington, your name reminds me of our own Mrs. Partington." He at once satisfied and reconciled an importunate but lifelong friend who wanted a mission to a distant but unhealthy country and would take nothing else, by saying, when all arguments failed, "Strangers die there soon, and I have already given the position to a gentleman whom

I can better spare than you." But when a little woman whose scant raiment and pinched features indicated the struggle of respectability with poverty, secured, after days of effort, an entrance to his presence, he said, "Well, my good woman, what can I do for you?" She replied, "My son, my only child, is a soldier. His regiment was near enough our home for him to take a day and run over and see his mother. He was arrested as a deserter when he re-entered the lines and condemned to be shot, and he is to be executed to-morrow." Hastily arising from his chair, the President left behind Senators and Congressmen and Generals, and seizing this little woman by the hand, he dragged her on a run as with great strides he marched with her to the office of the Secretary of War. She could not tell where the regiment then* was, or at what place or in what division the execution was to take place, and Stanton, who had become wearied with the President's clemency, which, he said, destroyed discipline, begged the President to drop the matter; but Mr. Lincoln, rising, said with vehemence, "I will not be balked in this. Send this message to every headquarters, every fort and every camp in the United States: 'Let no military execution take place until further orders from me. A. LINCOLN.'"

He called the Cabinet to meet, and as they entered they found him reading Artemus Ward. He said: "Gentlemen, I have found here a most amusing and interesting book, which has entertained and relieved me. Let me read you what Artemus Ward says about the waxworks at Albany." Chase, who never understood him, in his impatient dignity said: "Mr. President, we are here upon business." The President laid down the book, opened a drawer of his desk, took out a paper and said: "Gentlemen, I wish to read you this paper, not to ask your opinion as to what I shall do, for I am determined to issue it, but to ask your criticism as to any change of form or phraseology;" and the paper which he read was the immortal Proclamation of Emancipation, which struck the shackles from the limbs of four millions of slaves. And when the Cabinet, oppressed and overwhelmed by the magnitude of this deed about to be done, went solemnly out of the room, as the last of them looked back he saw this strangest, saddest, wisest, most extraordinary of rulers again reading Artemus Ward.

This man of peace and gentleness and tenderness was the most courageous of mortals. When Richmond surrendered, and he landed in the Rebel capital, and walked through the streets

filled with stragglers of the Confederate army and enemies naturally envenomed by their misfortunes, with no escort and no companion except his little boy, whom he held by the hand, he performed one of the most courageous as well as one of the most picturesque acts in our history. In the Trent affair, notwithstanding the difficulties of our Civil War, there was a unanimous sentiment for holding Mason and Slidell, the Confederate Commissioners, who had been taken off the British ship; yet when Lincoln understood that it was a violation of international law, he did what he alone could have done, because of the confidence of the people in him, surrendered the Rebel Commissioners. But when France invaded Mexico he did not hesitate for a moment to protest against this flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine, nor to assure Louis Napoleon that when his hands were free he would send the victorious army of the Union to drive the invaders from the soil of our neighboring republic. But he possessed another courage of a higher order, the courage which courts certain defeat for the accomplishment of a greater purpose for party and country than the satisfying of personal ambition. When he wrote the famous lines at the beginning of his struggle with

Douglas, “‘A house divided against itself cannot stand.’ I believe this Government cannot exist permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other,”—every politician whose future was at stake in the success of the Republican party in that mighty contest warned him that this utterance would defeat him. His answer was: “Yes, I know it will defeat me; but it will make the success of the party of liberty in the State of Illinois and in the country.” When he prepared his query to Douglas, how he could reconcile popular sovereignty for the people of the Territories with the Dred Scott decision, which said there was no popular sovereignty under the Constitution, he was told that Douglas’s answer would be, that the popular vote overrode everything else, and on that Douglas would certainly be returned to the Senate, and Lincoln’s answer was, “Yes, he will be returned to the Senate, and I will be defeated; but it will drive away from him the South, and he never will be President, and in the division of the Democratic party the Republicans will carry the country.”

To-day, for the first time since Lincoln's death, the 12th of February is a legal holiday in our State of New York. And it is proper that the people should, without regard to their party affiliation, celebrate in a becoming manner the birth, the story and the achievements of this Saviour of the Republic. But it is equally meet and proper for us who are gathered here as Republicans to celebrate also the deeds and achievements and the character of the greatest Republican who ever lived. This party to which we belong, this great organization of which we are proud, this mighty engine in the hands of Providence for the accomplishment of more for the land in which it has worked than any party in any representative government ever accomplished before, has its teachings and inspirations more largely from the statesmanship and utterances of Abraham Lincoln than from any other man. The first speech he ever made was a speech for that policy which was the first policy of George Washington, the first policy of the greatest creative brain of the Revolutionary period, Alexander Hamilton—the principle of the protection of American industries. With that keen and intuitive grasp of public necessity and of the future growth of the Republic which always characterized Lincoln,

he saw in early life that this country, under a proper system of protection, could become self-supporting; he saw that a land of raw materials was necessarily a land of poverty, while a land of diversified industries, each of them self-sustaining and prosperous, was a land of colleges and schools, a land of science and literature, a land of religion and law, a land of prosperity, happiness and peace. Abraham Lincoln was the emancipator of the slave; and the Republican party, from its organization in 1856 down to to-day, has been the organized force for larger liberty to the people of the United States. Abraham Lincoln was an American of Americans and believed in America for Americans. The Republican party, in the policy which fosters business, employment and wages; which stimulates emigration and the distribution of wealth throughout the land; which encourages the construction of railways, the digging of canals, the opening of mines, the founding of States and the building of cities, is the party of America for Americans. Abraham Lincoln stood, as no other name in our history stands, for the union of the States, for the preservation of the Republic, and the Republican party—his party—proudly boasts that no member of it ever fired a shot at the flag

or did aught against the perpetuity of our Union. Abraham Lincoln stood for principles and measures which could be advocated in every State as the best for that State and for the whole country; for a policy which could break the Solid South and do away forever with sectional divisions and unite the people of the United States for their prosperity and progress. The Republican party in 1896 stands before the country as the only national party, with the Solid South broken and sectional lines gone. Abraham Lincoln would draw the last dollar the country possessed and draft the last man capable of bearing arms to save the Republic. He would use any currency by which the army could be kept in the field and the navy upon the seas. When the peril was so great that our promise to pay only yielded thirty cents on the dollar, he prevented the collapse of our credit and the ruin of our cause by pledging the national faith to the payment of our debts and the redemption of our notes and bills at par in money recognized in the commerce of the world. The Republican party stands for a policy which will furnish abundant revenue for every requirement of the Government and which will maintain the credit of the United States at home and abroad up to the standard which

is justified by its unequaled wealth, power and progress.

All hail the spirit, all hail the principles, all hail the example—the inspiring example—of that man of the people, that wisest of rulers, that most glorious of Republicans, Abraham Lincoln!

Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.,
at the Dinner Tendered him by
the Lotus Club of New York,
February 22, 1896.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

Language is inadequate to voice my appreciation of your compliment. When President Harrison tendered me the position of Secretary of State, as the successor of Mr. Blaine, a member of his Cabinet said, "You ought to take the office, Mr. Depew, even if to do so you have to surrender the positions of trust which are the accumulations of a lifetime, while if General Harrison is not re-elected you may be in only a few months and have no opportunity to gain reputation or fame as a Foreign Minister, because you will have your name on that list of Secretaries of State." A reception and dinner by the Lotus Club puts the recipient's name on a noble list without involving any sacrifices whatever. For nearly a quarter of a century I have been a member of this club, and the recollections of the famous men whose coming has made famous nights, if written, would add another and the most interesting volume to the *noctes ambrosianæ*.

The Lotos has no politics, no creeds and no dogma. It stands for the catholicity of brains and the universality of good fellowship. It is a citizen of the world and claims fellowship with men and women of every race and nation who possess these qualities. Here have come from the department of music Gilbert and Sullivan, and Offenbach and Paderewski and the De Reszkes; from fiction, Canon Kingsley and Conan Doyle, and Wilkie Collins and Mark Twain; from poetry, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Sir Edwin Arnold; from history, James Anthony Froude and others; from journalism, Whitelaw Reid and Charles A. Dana and Murat Halstead; from statesmanship, in its best and purest expression, William M. Evarts; from the stage, Irving and Barrett and Booth. But why prolong the list? Bohemia embraces all who participate in the cultivation of art and the advancement of the truth, from Shakespeare to his humblest interpreter, from the writer whose name is writ large on the tablets of fame to the one who anonymously preaches his sermon day by day.

In recalling the past and its delightful memories, we cannot help both lamenting and rejoicing in the evanescence of fame—rejoicing,

because except for the disappearance of those who occupy the stage there would be no room for the rest of us. When we entertained Canon Kingsley, "Hypatia" and "Westward Ho!" were the models of the schools and colleges, the conversation of the dinner-table and the ornaments of the drawing-room. Now only the student reads the works of Charles Kingsley. Offenbach brought to us opera bouffe and Tostée. Never was there such excitement about the lyric stage. The American public were captured by being shocked. Everybody went to see Tostée to be shocked, and her suggestive singing was denounced from the pulpits and filled the newspapers with indignant editorials and communications. Guilbert comes here and sings songs on a moral plane as much below Tostée as Tostée was below Patti, and the American press and public pay little heed and care little about it. Is it because we have grown worse or better? It is because we have become both better and stronger, as well as more cultured. Offenbach found us in that provincial condition where the professor of virtue is a peeper at vice. Guilbert found us in the cosmopolitan state where we might for a while tolerate filth and vulgarity if it was the highest art, but unless it was the highest

art we would stamp it out, and starve it out, and if it was the highest art we would speedily demand that art should not be degraded or insulted by depraved uses. When Gilbert and Sullivan were welcomed their tuneful melodies were the folklore of the country. We had "Pinafore" banged at us on the piano before breakfast, thundered at us by the bands on the streets; we were tortured by the hand-organ playing it, our friends humming it, even in church, and rasping fiends whistling it. It was the song and the nuisance which spared neither age, nor sex, nor condition in life. There is not a gentleman present to-night who could whistle or sing a bar of "Pinafore." But there is a general appreciation and understanding of the noblest works of the greatest composers which at that time had scarcely an existence in this country.

At the time of the craze for Kingsley's works I was in England, on the coast where the plot of one of his great novels is laid. A stately hall of Norman ancestry, a grand dame presiding grandly at the most hospitable of boards; and a guest remarking upon the beauty of the situation and the invigorating breezes from the sea, the grand dame said: "Yes, all that is true and

makes this place attractive beyond almost any other. It has, however, one drawback. When alone at night we cannot help thinking that only the Atlantic Ocean separates us from the dreadful American savages."

Provincialism and isolation from the world produce magnificent enthusiasm. The effort of higher civilization and universal knowledge is to repress it. Enthusiasm is like the thunder and the lightning which clear the atmosphere and give new vigor to life. In lamenting the disappearance of its manifestations I often wonder if the passion is lost. I saw the Seventh Regiment march down Broadway to protect the Capital at the beginning of the Civil War and receive a popular ovation which set the heart beating and the blood throbbing so that in the ecstasy of the hour it was difficult to breathe or live. I felt as a boy the wild and contagious feeling there was for Henry Clay. We have all of us been carried along on the waves of emotion which after the end of the civil strife swept against the unmoved and immovable figure of General Grant. But where are our enthusiasms of to day? We are in the presidential year, the year of all others for idols and idol worship, the year when the politician becomes a statesman and the statesman

becomes endowed in the popular imagination with supreme qualities, and yet the American people are calmly analyzing instead of frescoing, they are doubting instead of accepting without question as prophet, sage, leader and saviour a chosen favorite, and they are subjecting them all to the frightful processes of the Cathode rays. All of these are unquestionably the results of more universal education, of the universal reading of the newspapers and of electric touch day by day with all the world. And yet, without lamenting the good old times, I believe that a people should be stirred at least once in a generation by a Peter the Hermit enthusiasm which sinks the commercial considerations, which now control all the transactions of life, and sacrifices everything for an idea or a name. It is that which makes patriotism and patriots; it is that which creates heroes and statesmen. They are carried to the heights where they lead, and the multitude follows as much by the uplifting applause and inspiration of the people whose enthusiasm condenses in them, as by their own superior genius and acquirements.

When Governor Seymour, one of the finest types of the American gentleman who ever lived, was defeated in his last race to succeed himself

in the Gubernatorial office, I met him in Albany, and supposed, because I had been six weeks on the stump speaking after him every night and attacking his positions and himself politically, that there would be, as the girl said about herself and her lover, "a distance and at the same time a coolness between us." But he greeted me with the old-time cordiality, and then said: "You are a young man and I am an old one; you have a talent for public life, have got on very fast and undoubtedly can make a career. But there is nothing in it. I have seen during my thirty years of activity in politics the men go up and down State street to the Capitol who concentrated upon themselves the attention of the people and seemed destined to become famous, One by one they were dropped by their party, disappeared from public view, lost touch with their business or profession and died in obscurity and poverty. In the War of 1812 there were three men who performed a signal service on the frontier, and the State so appreciated their deeds that the Legislature sent a special commission to bring their bodies to Albany, and the remains were met there by all there was of power and authority in the Empire State, and the Governor. the Judges, the State officers and the Legislature

marched in procession and buried them in the grounds of the Capitol, and now no one knows what part of the Capitol grounds they were buried in, what were their names or what they did." In building the new Capitol their remains were found. While there is much philosophy and infinite truth for the average man in the old Governor's advice, yet there are exceptions in exceptional times when enthusiasm should again inspire effort and fame be a secondary consideration.

It is a curious trait of this period that we are inclined to take nothing seriously. A story goes farther than an argument and a joke captures more than a speech. It matters not whether it be a crisis in national affairs, a critical time in finances, disturbing contentions in the Church, or the varying fortunes of party leaders, the public find comfort somewhere by a presentation and universal acceptance of a humorous or ludicrous side of the situation. We apply this process in the humanizing of the deified heroes of the past. To hit a Populist Senator and get a horizontal view of a great statesman, they tell the story of the Senator being shaved by an aged colored barber at the Arlington, and remarking to the barber, "Uncle, you must have had among your

customers many of my distinguished predecessors in the Senate—many of the men now dead who have occupied the great place which I fill.” “Yes, sar,” said the barber, “I’ve known most all of dem. By the way, Senator, you remind me of Dan’el Webster.” The gratified statesman raised in his chair, and, placing his fingers upon his head, said: “Is it my brow?” “No, boss,” said the barber, “it is you’ breff.” And yet the processes of humor seem to have destroyed wit. Or has publicity done it? We hail with intense delight the autobiographies which give us the table gossip of the wits of preceding generations; we treasure their epigrams and their *mots*. But now, when every newspaper, even the staidest, and every magazine, even the most solemn, has its humorous column or chapter, we hear no more epigrams, immortal witticisms, or new and humorous presentations of current incidents, either in society or at the dinner-table. What are the Sydney Smiths and Douglas Jerrolds and the Tom Hoods and the Richard Brinsley Sheridans doing now? There are plenty of them in every American city. They are found upon newspapers and in the professions. I think it is the spirit of commerce again, and the trail of the serpent is over us all. Jokes

have become marketable, witticisms command a high price and humor is a source of daily livelihood. The story which is either painfully or slowly constructed, or the breath of genius, when told at the most private of dinners to-night, is in all the newspapers to-morrow. In other times the author would have been a welcome guest everywhere, in order that there might be heard from his lips a repetition of his creation ; but now he is either a writer, and cannot afford to treat his friends to such expensive entertainments and lose the authorship, or the dissipation by publication of a story or a joke or a humorous suggestion in embryo prevents the subsequent processes by which it becomes an immortal contribution to the gayety of nations.

I do not know why you should have selected Washington's birthday on which to pay me this honor. There are no resemblances between the Father of his Country and myself, unless, in my capacity as a railroad man, you connect me with him from his first venture in what has grown to be the great system of transportation, because Parson Weems, in his delightful and simple story of Washington's life, says that, when a small boy, he took a hack at the cherry-tree.

This February, for the first time, both Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays have been made legal holidays. Never since the creation of man were two human beings so unlike, so nearly the extremes of opposition to each other as Washington and Lincoln. The one an aristocrat by birth, by breeding and association; the other in every sense and by every surrounding a democrat. As the richest man in America, a large slaveholder, the possessor of an enormous landed estate and the leader and representative of the property, the culture and the colleges of the Colonial period, Washington stood for the conservation and preservation of law and order. He could be a revolutionist and pledge his life and fortune and honor for the principles which, in his judgment, safeguarded the rights and liberties of his country. But in the construction of the Republic and in the formation of its institutions and in the critical period of experiment, until they could get in working order, he gave to them and planted in them conservative elements which are found in no other system of government. And yet, millionaire, slaveholder and aristocrat in its best sense that he was, as he lived, so at any time he would have died for the immortal principle put by the Puritans in their charter adopted in

the cabin of the "Mayflower" and re-enacted in the Declaration of Independence, of the equality of all men before the law and of the equal opportunity for all to rise. Lincoln, on the other hand, was born in a cabin among that class known as poor whites in slaveholding times, who held and could hold no position and whose condition was so hopeless as to paralyze ambition and effort. His condition, so far as surroundings were concerned, had considerable mental but little moral improvement by the removal to Indiana and subsequently to Illinois. Anywhere in the Old World a man born amidst such surroundings and teachings and possessed of unconquerable energy and ambition and the greatest powers of eloquence and constructive statesmanship would have been a socialist and the leader of a social revolt. He might have been an anarchist. His one ambition would have been to break the crust above him and shatter it to pieces. He would see no opportunity for himself and his fellows in social or political or professional life. But Lincoln attained from the log cabin of the poor white in the wilderness the same position which George Washington reached from his grand old mansion and palatial surroundings on the Potomac. He made the same fight unself-

ishly, patriotically and grandly for the preservation of the Republic that Washington had done for its creation and foundation. Widely as they are separated, these two heroes of the two great crises of our national life stand together in representing the solvent powers of the inspiring processes and the hopeful opportunities of American liberty. The one coming from the top to the Presidency and the other from the bottom to the Presidency of the United States, the leadership of the people, the building up of government and the reconstruction of states, they grandly illustrate the fact that under our institutions there is neither place nor time for the socialist or the anarchist, but there is a place and always a time, notwithstanding the discouragements of origin or of youth, for grit, pluck, ambition, honesty and brains.

Gentlemen, in the good fellowship of Bohemia, in the genial encouragement which reckons every man for what he is and not for what he has, in the glorious associations and atmosphere of our country, I wish you all long life and happiness and the Lotos immortality.

Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.,
before the Detroit Chamber of
Commerce, May 2, 1895.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

It is a happy illustration of the unity of states and sections on commercial lines, that we of New York are the guests here to-night of the Chamber of Commerce of Detroit. Whatever political differences may divide the sections of our common country, there is an intelligent union of interest among its business men. There may be a clashing upon party lines between Michigan and Missouri, New York and Georgia, Pennsylvania and Alabama, Maine and California, but the Chambers of Commerce and the Boards of Trade of New York and San Francisco, of Portland, Oregon, and Portland, Maine, of Philadelphia and Atlanta, of Detroit and New Orleans, of Savannah and Duluth, of Chicago and Charleston, consider the questions which affect the business, the commerce, the trade, the agricultural and manufacturing interests of our country, upon the recognized principles of commercial prosperity and the immutable laws of trade. Thus it is that the commerce of the United States is

the ever strengthening bond of union of the commonwealths which constitute the Republic.

It is significant of the rapidity with which the American people escape the thralldom of prejudice, misrepresentation and demagogues that we, who are interested in so large a part of the railway ownership and management of the United States, should be participants in this celebration with gentlemen who represent every industry of this great and thriving State. The time has come when the people of the United States, with but few exceptions, are recognizing the fact that the farm, the factory, the mine, the mill and the railroad are inseparably and interdependently connected, and that the prosperity of any one of them benefits all, and an injury to any one of them is an injury to all. It is within very recent recollection when state legislatures met mainly to cripple the operations of railways and depreciate their properties; when railway officers and employees were separated from their fellow citizens of other pursuits, and relegated to the unhappy position of doubtful persons in a community. In New England first common sense asserted itself over rabid sentiment. In New York our relations became so harmonious that our State presented at the National Republican

Convention the president of its chief railway as the State's candidate for President of the United States. Though that was only in 1888, yet the fact that he was the president of the greatest railway in New York and that his railway carried the passengers and property of the people of the United States cheaper than any other railway in the world, led to the presentation of his name to the convention, producing political paralysis and prophetic paresis. Well-meaning men used to come to my room as a matter of curiosity with an accident ticket in one pocket and a prayer book in the other. The one provided for their families in case the evil one should whisk them off to the infernal regions, and the other presented the usual and time-honored method of exorcising the Devil. My head was curiously examined to find the evidence of horns—I mention horns, however, with considerable modesty, since the Governor of the State of Illinois has recently declared that I do not know on which end of the animal the horns grow. It is now, however, generally admitted that whatever aggressive position the railway may have once taken, it no longer asks anything except to be considered in the same light as other occupations and other properties. Its position can be

accurately stated in the language of the mate of the whaling schooner when the surly captain had offered him, because of his success in capturing one of the monsters of the deep, promotion, honorable mention and a share in the profits. Said the mate: "Capting, I don't want no promotion. I don't want no honorable mention. I don't want no share in the profits. All I want is common civility, and that of the darndest, commonest kind."

We live in an age of associations. Steam, electricity and invention have so accelerated the pace of progress, have so reduplicated the forces of industry and trade that the individual has lost his place. Capital combines in corporations, not only where it is required in vast sums for railways and telegraphs, but in lumbering, mining, manufacturing and store keeping. Labor combines both in separate industries and in general federation. The educator and the scientist discover that development is so rapid that they also must form associations if they would keep step with the truth. The unit upon which liberty formerly relied must now be a drilled and disciplined soldier, assigned to his company, his regiment, his brigade and his corps. There is no more beneficent

form of association than these Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce, which are established all over the country. It is but a few years since they existed only in the large cities. Now they have been created in every village of over a thousand inhabitants. They are something more than Boards of Trade. They concentrate the energy, the business tact and the progressive spirit which develop the village and make the town. They invite capital, they stimulate enterprise, they create the conditions which attract populations. They do more; while in no sense political, they perform the highest public duties. They know that extravagance or corruption increases taxes; that taxes make it more expensive to transact business, and that the town in which business can be most cheaply done will defeat its rivals. They become good-government clubs, and enforce efficiency in the public service and purity and ability in public office. They are the sources of commercial and national union in a republic. By correspondence all of these bodies are in touch with one another. They are schools, academies and colleges for the study and the teaching of sound political principles and economic doctrines. In time there will be

a central Chamber of Commerce in Washington, in which each of these bodies will have a representation. That great national Chamber of Commerce will most beneficently affect the legislation of Congress.

There is a singular fatality which overtakes the business man when he steps out of business and becomes a statesman. I do not confine this to men who are in business; it affects equally those that come from the professions. The man who has won the respect of his fellow-citizens as a lumberman, or a merchant, a manufacturer or a farmer, a miner or a lawyer, an artisan or a teacher, becomes a member of Congress. The effort to spread himself over this great country seems to so thin his gray matter as to make him incapable of bringing to the business of the nation the same common sense which made him succeed at home. The most remarkable illustration of this is the Congress which just adjourned. It faced a need and an opportunity such as no Congress has met since the formation of the Government. Prostrate industries, millions of men out of employment, and a general paralysis of trade were calling for relief—relief which only could be had through wise legislation. Instead of re-

lief we had a babel of propositions which only added to the general confusion and made the adjournment of Congress a day of national thanksgiving and exultation. The national Chamber of Commerce, with delegates from each of these bodies, in session in Washington, would be a kindergarten on economic and financial questions for the instruction of members of Congress.

The mind can scarcely grasp or the imagination conceive the tremendous forces under the control of these commercial bodies of the United States. It is a well-known law that the prosperity and progress of the world are determined by the amount of its transportation. The tons of merchandise which are carried in the general interchanges of the globe are the indexes of its industries and wealth. The farm, the mine and the forest yield their wealth to be turned into articles for the use and service of man in the mill and the factory and the furnace, the product to be handled by the merchant and manufacturer and to be distributed by the railroad, the steamship, the sailing vessel and the canal, and the sum of it all is the employment of the wealth and the labor of the country and the living and profits of its people.

The United States is more prosperous than any other nation. Its people are better off than the people of any other country, as evidenced by the amount of tonnage carried in their borders, in their internal commerce—and that internal commerce is possible in its magnitude and its beneficence because the people of the United States are one people of one country and one union. The whole of the tonnage of the oceans of the world last year was about 140,000,000 tons, while the tonnage of the railways of the world carried one hundred miles was about 1,400,000,000 tons. There are 400,000 miles of railway in the world, of which 180,000 are in the United States. Of the 1,400,000,000 tons carried one hundred miles last year on the railways of the world, 800,000,000 tons were carried on the railways of the United States. You take the 600,000,000 tons carried one hundred miles on the railways of the world outside of the United States, and then you add to it 140,000,000 tons carried on the ocean in the commerce of the world upon the seas, and we still have in the 800,000,000 tons carried on the railways of the United States, 60,000,000 tons more than on all the railways of the world outside of the United States and in all the ocean commerce of the world put to-

gether. This traffic is carried on by the American railways at an average of eight mills per ton per mile; while the railways of Great Britain charge two cents and eight mills, France two cents and two mills, the government-owned railways of Germany two cents and six mills, of Italy two cents and five mills, and Russia two cents and four mills. This internal commerce of the United States makes our country the most wonderful market this globe has ever known. Our internal commerce is so vast and so beneficent that the sum of the traffic of Rome when she commanded the world, of Genoa when she was queen of the Mediterranean, and of Venice when she commanded the seas, are compared to it but as rivulets to the Father of Waters. This internal commerce is the breath of our national life. With it in prosperous condition we can successfully compete in the markets of the world.

We have advanced beyond the boundaries fixed for us by Washington in his farewell address and have become a factor in the affairs of nations. Our white fleet, carrying the flag into every sea and protecting the honor of the nation and the safety of the citizen in every port, and the American line of steamers, making it possible for the American citizen to go to and fro between

the United States and Europe under his own flag, are the illustrations of our changed conditions. The necessity of the continuance of our commercial relations with foreign countries, for the disposal of the surplus of our farms and factories, in a trade which has reached fabulous figures, imposes upon us also the duty of keeping inviolate the laws by which trade with other countries of the world is possible, and impresses upon us the lesson that we cannot disregard those laws without suffering the most serious consequences. We will always, and must always, avoid complications in European or Asiatic politics; but no foreign power can exercise a hostile authority in Hawaii, or Central America, or Mexico, or the sister republics of the southern hemisphere without receiving from us protest and resistance.

How are we to preserve our prosperity and continue our progress? The drastic lesson of the last two years has taught us that this enormous internal commerce of ours, which includes all the productive elements which go to make it up, can be destroyed by distrust. Confidence and credit are the factors of American prosperity and progress. With confidence, the spindles hum, the furnace is in blast, the miner is at work, the farmer is happy, labor has full employment,

capital is active and the wheel of the freight car is perpetually revolving. With confidence, a business of incalculable magnitude can get along with notes, checks, warehouse receipts, telegraphic orders and other commercial appliances, and with very little currency. Without confidence, there is not money enough in the world to conduct the business of the United States. We are all business men. Business men care nothing for featherheads whose stock in trade is epithet or phrases. By business men, I mean every man who uses his money, his hands or his brain in any activity. The time has come when without regard to temporary madness or prejudices or hard names business men should calmly consider the dangers of our situation. We have been at the bottom, and we are on the up-grade of prosperity ; but it is purely tentative so far, because of doubt and distrust. Doubt and distrust about what? About the things concerning which among a commercial people there should never be any doubt or any distrust. We should have a revenue system so well defined that it could not be disturbed, except in minor details, for a generation. While not discussing tariff or free trade, we should have a revenue system which will meet the requirements

of the Government and support it without direct taxation. There never should be any doubt as to the currency of the people. Their currency should be such that the world would recognize it upon a common standard. It is said that the debtor can pay his debts more easily in depreciated currency. There is an easier and quicker way, and that is, not paying them at all. The United States is a debtor, national, municipal, railway and individual, to the extent of about \$14,000,000,000. We have developed our marvelous resources with borrowed capital. Of this sum one-third is held abroad. A well-defined policy to pay debts at seventy-five cents or at fifty cents on the dollar would lead to \$2,000,000,000 or \$3,000,000,000 of securities coming home for us to take. The presentation of them in our markets would endanger the stability of every bank, derange every exchange and paralyze every industry in the United States.

The fiat of the government cannot make a paper of value, nor silver of value, nor copper of value, nor gold of value, though it may compel any or all of them to be taken in payment of debts within the limits of the United States. There can be but one standard of value; and that is a metal which will bring the same price

whether it is in the bar or has the stamp of the government upon it. If the promise of the government to pay a dollar is to be redeemed at the treasury in a coin which is worth one hundred cents anywhere in the United States, and worth one hundred cents anywhere in the world, then the dollar which pays the laborer for his work, and the farmer for his wheat, and the merchant for his wares represents the full value of the labor and of the product for which it is paid. Anything less as money ruins our trade with foreign countries, robs the wage-earner and producer, and makes a nation of speculators. But, gentlemen, I have no time to discuss this question. I simply hint at it as the one which, unless settled, will make impossible that prosperity for which we are all longing and praying.

The sentiment which you have assigned to me is as broad as the continent. That commerce does bind together these States is the assertion of a beneficent truth. The chain from the farm, through the lumber camp and the mine, reaching every store and industrial centre, touching every house and cabin, running over mountains and through valleys, binds the shores of the Pacific to those of the Atlantic and ties the Gulf line to our northern boundary. The railroad is an expres-

sion of commerce, and the iron rails, interlacing and intertwining through the States, are bonds of union. The electric telegraph is a medium of commerce, and the wires stretching north, south, east and west keep all of our peoples in daily touch with each other. The telephone is the voice of commerce, and New York speaks to Chicago and Chicago to San Francisco in familiar and family conversation.

Our educational systems and our material development are happily blended in the interests of the republic and its perpetuity. Every dispatch which flashes over the wires, every voice which is heard through the long-distance telephone, and every train which thunders across the continent are messengers of peace and union. In every one of our hundreds of thousands of common schools, our thousands of academies, our hundreds of universities and colleges, our youth are absorbing the story of our origin, the history of our past, the splendors of our present and the promises of our future. Patriotism wedded to commerce and intelligence surely safeguards the continuance of the union of the States.

Address by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.,
on the occasion of the presentation to the
Chamber of Commerce of the State of
New York of the Historical Paint-
ing of the Atlantic Cable Pro-
jectors, May 23d, 1895.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

The picture which is hung to-day upon the walls of the Chamber of Commerce illustrates one of the great events of history. The men who are portrayed in it are representative of American pluck and opportunity. Each of them, in his own way, did much for the commercial supremacy of the metropolis and the grandeur of the commerce of our country. They were, in the broadest and best sense, self-made men. They were not accidents, but architects. All commenced life without fortune or influence, with no other capital than character and brains, winning power, fame and fortune.

The conditions attendant upon the acquisition of wealth dry up generous impulses and make the possessor hard, cold and unsympathetic. The notable exceptions to this rule are the more deserving of admiration and praise. These six

New-Yorkers and Americans here portrayed had never permitted their enthusiasm to be dimmed or their imagination to be dulled by their failures or successes. Though the most practical of business men, they could yet risk their money and their reputations upon a scheme which, in its beginnings, had little else to recommend it but patriotism and humanity.

Those who win great wealth suddenly or fortuitously, risk it with a recklessness born of the ease with which it came. But they who have slowly and laboriously climbed the ladder of fortune, look with suspicion upon enterprises the opportunities of which have not been thoroughly tested and tried. They know that, with their experience and demonstrated ability, they can outstrip their fellows and secure success where less able but more adventurous travelers have beaten the path and shown the way.

The six gentlemen who gathered in Cyrus W. Field's parlor on March 10, 1854, were splendid examples of American success. Cyrus Field, the son of a Connecticut clergyman who had naught to give his family but an education and an example, had retired from business with a fortune at thirty-five. His brother, David Dudley, stood in the front rank of American law-

yers, his codifications of law having secured national and international recognition. Marshall O. Roberts had ventured with equal success upon the ocean and upon the land. Wilson G. Hunt was a conservative, broad-minded and eminently successful New York merchant. Moses Taylor was one of the most far-sighted and eminent bankers and projectors of America. Peter Cooper had overcome almost insurmountable obstacles in his career, and at ninety years of age was still quick in his sympathy with the growth of the city, the development of his country, with the needs of mankind and with every effort for the education and assistance of youth. Before this assemblage Mr. Field placed the project of an Atlantic cable. The wire which could be successfully laid under the ocean had not yet been manufactured nor even invented. The possibilities of the construction of such a line had not been tested. The perils and obstacles between Europe and America and in the depths of ocean were unknown. The factors presented to these men of caution and of sense were, a letter from Lieut. Maury, of the United States Navy, expressing a belief in a level plateau under the ocean between Newfoundland and Ireland; a letter from Prof. Morse, then radiant with the young

fame of his successful telegraph, saying that though it never had been tried, he yet believed a message could be transmitted through three thousand miles of wire ; and the enthusiasm and confidence of Cyrus W. Field. "It will unite the Old World and the New, it will promote peace and civilization, it will help commerce, it will bring our country in contact with the world, and upon that I will stake my reputation, my undivided time and energies and my fortune," said Mr. Field. "This is more patriotism than business," was the answer of his guests, "but we will furnish the money required."

Before the laying of the cable could be commenced the wires must be put under the Gulf of St. Lawrence and stretched through four hundred miles of unbroken wilderness which had never been traversed by man, across Newfoundland to St. John's. As if upon a holiday excursion the party sailed from New York, to lose their line in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and returned chastened and dispirited. Again Mr. Field set forth, this time to complete his enterprise to the point where the connection could be made with the expected cable from Europe. He went abroad as a missionary in 1856, preaching the cable and its opportunities to English statesmen and bankers.

There was no need of his arguing its value ; that was thoroughly understood on both sides of the Atlantic. The fleet was gathered. It left the coast of Ireland with its precious burden, speeded by cheers and salutes and guns, to have the line break when three hundred miles from the shore. Undaunted, undismayed, nerved with new energy by defeat, made of the stuff with which the world's conquerors have been endowed, Cyrus Field appealed once more to faltering friends on both sides of the water. Once more they responded. The United States and Great Britain contributed the best frigates of their navies, which sailed in company to mid-ocean, where, as a sign of the amity and concord which was to follow success, the American man-of-war steamed with her freight of coil toward the Emerald Isle, and the British man-of-war, with her half of it, toward America. Hundreds of miles of wire had found a bed at the bottom of the ocean and been successfully tested, when the storms of the sea broke the cable, and the expedition returned to England.

The indomitable pluck found in the Puritan strain spurred dying hope to one last effort, and the cable was laid. President Buchanan sent his message to Queen Victoria, and the Queen re-

sponded with equal cordiality and gratitude. The world was aflame with eager expectation and joy. The builder came to our city a conqueror, to be welcomed with ovations and a triumph as significant, as grand and as national as any which ever hailed a Cæsar, with the world at his chariot wheels, entering imperial Rome. The messages continued to fly back and forth. Then came the dramatic and tragic end. There were no hecatombs of dead, no wailing of wounded, no bereaved homes, but there was a wreck and destruction of hope involving more people and more countries than resulted from any other disaster of the ages. While the guns were booming, the torchlights flashing, and the rockets bursting in air, on that very night the cable of 1858 ceased to work. The first shock over, the maddened populace, looking as ever for a victim, pursued the victor of yesterday as the fraud of the morrow. Torrents of invective and of epithet from the press, the exchanges and the public were poured upon the scheme and its author. "The cable had never worked; the messages were all false; we have been tricked and deceived for stock-jobbing purposes," was the popular cry. To add to the troubles of the city's defeated and discredited guest, the financial cyclone which

was then sweeping the country scattered his fortune. Few strains in the blood of the human race, except that of Cromwell and his Ironsides, of Brewster and Carver, and their companions, who had framed the great charter of liberty in the cabin of the "Mayflower," could have survived this trial, humiliation and disaster. But Cyrus Field arose from the wreck of his fortune, his hopes and his reputation, with sturdier faith and sterner purpose. Forty times he crossed the seas. Congresses and Parliaments, the Cabinets of Presidents and the Ministers of the Queen, Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce, the parlors of bankers and the directors' rooms of banks, the libraries of scientists and the mossgrown halls of ancient universities, became familiar with this intrepid and irrepres- sible enthusiast. For eight long years he pursued his quest, exhibited his maps, submitted his tests, formulated his calculations and addressed his appeals. There is no human power which can resist the assaults of a man of genius, energy and irrevocable purpose, who believes that he is right and is battling for a great cause. The great powers of the world, government and finance, surrendered to Cyrus Field in 1866.

The adventures and alarms, the machinery broken and repaired, the alternate hopes and despair, the forces of nature in the Atlantic working their mightiest against the domination of the skill, the invention, the will and the genius of man on the "Great Eastern" during the three weeks while the cable was paying out from her stern, and on either side of the ocean nations awaiting the result, presented pictures unequaled in all the marvelous stories which have aroused the eloquence, the poetry and the painting of the centuries in the marches and battles of history. The first message on Morse's telegraph was the exclamation of wonder and thanksgiving, "What God hath wrought!" The aspiration of the nations, breathed simultaneously at the eastern and western ends of the Atlantic cable was, "Glory to God on high, and on earth peace and good will among men."

When I was in Genoa, a year ago, looking upon that splendid statue of Columbus which is its chief monument, I noticed upon the base this inscription: "There was one world. He said, 'Let there be two,' and there were two." After four centuries Mr. Field, with his cable, had reunited the two worlds, and in gladness and peace the earth was one.

A happy commentary upon the far-reaching influence and ultimate results of this quick communication between America and Europe was found among the first of the messages which flashed across the wire. This was the announcement of the agreement to submit the Alabama claims to arbitration. It was the beginning of that movement for the peace of the world by which the disputes of nations shall be settled, not by the arbitrament of arms, but by the calm procedure of judicial tribunals. No power can estimate and no language adequately state the benefits derived from the Atlantic cable, and the others which have been subsequently laid, by the United States and by the Old World. Commerce has been revolutionized, inter-communication between the different parts of the earth quickened, and universal intelligence disseminated. The people have been benefited in cheaper living, better homes, higher thinking and broader education; peace has been promoted among nations, and the American Republic has taken its place among the governments of the world, to both maintain the position in which Washington placed it, of non-interference in the politics of other continents, and to enforce by the stern

application of the Monroe doctrine non-interference by the governments of other continents in the politics or the governments of the Americas. Upon Great Britain and the United States, the mother country and the great Republic, the result has been such constant and instantaneous communication, such close and intimate relations, such a volume of commercial exchanges, such an interchange of peoples and of ideas, that while disputes will be impossible to avoid and differences must continually arise, they will always be settled with peace and honor.

The story of nations is contained in multitudes of volumes and fills libraries, but a few providential and marvelous events have sown the seeds of history. In a lifetime of earnest study one could hardly grasp the details of the rise and fall of dynasties and kingdoms, of races and peoples, of politics and parties, of invention and discovery, and of philosophies and religions. In a broad generalization the wonderful development of modern times can be traced to three eras—the Crusades, the discovery of America, and the laying of the Atlantic cable.

Last Sunday was celebrated at Clèrmont, in

France, the eight hundredth anniversary of the preaching of the sermon by Peter the Hermit which led to the first Crusade. Europe was then groaning under the iron heel of the feudal system. There was no law but the despotic will of the petty baron, and no protection against his exactions and the outrages of his army of retainers. The Church offered refuge, but it was not strong enough to protect the weak and the many against the armed might of the few. A pall of ignorance and of superstition rested upon the western world. This inspired priest moved alike princes and people to a supreme effort for the rescue of the holy sepulchre from the grasp of the infidel. The Crusades broke the strength of the barons, increased the authority of both the Church and the State, and brought about that concentration of power which made possible constitutional government and parliamentary liberty. They opened the way for Runnymede, for Magna Charta, for the Bill of Rights and for the Declaration of Independence. The East had all the culture of the world. It had all the literature, the arts and the sciences which existed in that age. It possessed organized commerce and enlightened merchants. The contact of brute force from Europe with this higher civilization

cultivated the paladin and the palmer, and brought back to Europe a revival of literature, an impulse for trade, and an ambition for invention and discovery. The Crusades founded the universities which gave to the middle age its scholars and philosophers. They brought out from the libraries the hidden treasures of the ancient world, and through the Greek and Latin authors made possible the names whose works are part of the treasures of mankind. To them and their results can be traced the telescope, the microscope, the compass, and, crowning them all in its beneficent influences, the printing-press. It required four hundred years to accomplish these results and bring Europe up to this standard.

Then Columbus wandered from court to court, pressing upon royal and unwilling ears his belief in a western hemisphere. Others had discovered this continent, but the times were not ripe for the announcement or the appreciation of the fact. In the fullness of preparation the imperious and resistless Columbus compelled audience for his scheme and fleets for his adventure. The discovery of the New World became the most important chapter in the history of the human race. Far beyond its material advantages

in affording homes for the crowded populations of the Old World, were the opportunities which it gave for the development and practice of civil and religious liberty. Under the benign and wonder-working influences of these principles, this Republic has flowered and flourished as the home of the oppressed, as the land of the free, as the exemplar of man's opportunities for governing himself, and as a disseminator of the value and possibility of liberty around the globe.

The United States of 1854, when these gentlemen met, were as distinct from the United States of to-day as 1854 was distant from the time of the Revolutionary War. They were isolated from Europe by the trackless ocean, and separated by an eight days' journey from its shores. This infrequent and difficult contact with the world promoted provincialism and protected slavery in our Republic. We were not ready for instantaneous communication with the Old World, to preach by lightning from day to day the lessons of our liberty, so long as under our Constitution and laws four millions of human beings were held in bondage. When the cable was projected all parties in the United States were discussing, not whether slavery should

be abolished, not whether the stigma should be removed, not whether the curse should be obliterated, but whether it should be extended over virgin territories. All parties were agreed that it should be protected by the power of the Government where it already existed. In the eight years following the failure of the cable of 1858 the Civil War had both devastated and purified the land. Slavery was gone, the Republic was free, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence were the fundamental law of the country. The regenerated and disenthralled Republic, with the stars of its flag undimmed, was prepared by example and theory to give to people suffering under oppression everywhere, sympathy, encouragement and moral help.

Thus while four hundred years after the Crusades had enlightened Europe Columbus discovered America, so four hundred years after Columbus set up his banner on San Salvador the Atlantic cable united our country in instantaneous communication with every part of the earth. For the gratification of our national pride, and for the recognition of our prestige and power, we were happily prepared for this daily review of our development and progress.

The six gentlemen who met in the little library in Gramercy Park forty years ago have all joined the majority beyond the grave. There was no publicity given to their gathering, and the results of their evening conference failed to attract the attention of the Argus-eyed press. But the States General of Holland, staking the resources of their country upon the issue of religious liberty ; the barons at Runnymede, forcing from the throne, with their swords, the principles of civil liberty ; the Continental Congress, formulating the measures which should dedicate a continent to the equality of all men before the law ; none of them, nor all of them, accomplished any greater results for mankind than those which will flow in future ages from the success of the enterprise started so courageously by the gentlemen whose portraits will henceforth, upon yonder historical canvas, adorn the walls of this venerable Chamber.

Address of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.,
at the Dinner Tendered him
by the City of Buffalo,
November 8, 1895.

Mr. Mayor and Friends :

An occasion like this emphasizes the inadequacy of language to express sentiment. In a life fairly full of enjoyable happenings this greeting of yours is the most pleasant and interesting. Enmities accumulate with the natural competitions and strifes of a career, and vendettas pass down through generations ; but the accumulating force of friendships begun early and growing stronger with the years are as rare as they are delightful. For more than thirty-three years, which are counted a generation among men, I have been a frequent guest in your hospitable city, a speaker on controversial and patriotic topics and, as General Counsel and President of the great railway corporation which has its western terminus within your limits, been brought in frequent contact and conflict with your authorities and citizens. It is a happy reminiscence and present thought that private entertainments have increased in number

and cordiality, the public meeting occurring almost annually has become larger each year and kindlier to the speaker, and the questions so acute and irritating which must necessarily arise between a growing city and its needs and a railroad company and its terminal necessities, have been met uniformly by the authorities of this city with a liberality and fairness which has kept the relations between Buffalo and the New York Central always friendly. As railway attorney, as Director and as President, I have been brought into the conflicts or discussions with many of the cities, not only of this State but of the country. It is the verdict of a quarter of a century of experience that nowhere has the city through its officers for the time being shown more wisdom and breadth of view in dealing with transportation companies, which are its life, and nowhere has there been given in return by the transportation companies more concessions or more of substantial benefits.

As a young law student, visiting my friend and your respected townsman, Mr. James Sweeney, in his then home at Tonawanda, I came up to deliver my first political speech at Buffalo. The question of the hour was slavery and secession, the one the highest moral issue a people ever had

to deal with, the other the life or the death of the Republic. Nothing better illustrates the rapidity of our progress as a nation and the magnitude of the problems which our development has forced upon us, than the distance in the memory of these grave issues. Upon them, on the one side or the other, a million of men went to death, and a million who fought yet survive ; but, for the generation which has come on the stage since the Civil War, slavery and secession are as distant, meaningless and academic as Cæsar crossing the Rubicon or Washington crossing the Delaware. I have a lively recollection of that speech, my first in a city and to a great audience. I am afraid that it justified a criticism passed by an old lawyer upon it, that it had more frills than shirt. It was certainly more lurid than logical, though the intensity of the feelings and passions of the hour made possible an enthusiastic reception for its declarations and declamation. I remember lying awake all night wondering whether the United States District Attorney would summon me before the grand jury to justify the charges that I had made against President Buchanan and his Cabinet of conspiring for the overthrow of the Government in the interest of the slave power. I had gathered my points entire-

ly from the newspapers of Buffalo, and I was wondering where the newspapers got theirs, and fearing that the editors would fail to come to my defense. It is the only night of my life that I ever lay awake an hour on account of a political speech. The apprehensions of the Government moving in the matter were an illustration of that lack of a sense of proportion which is the defect of youth. Not always of youth. Some men are failures in politics, in the professions, in literature and in business because they never have learned to appreciate and understand the proportionate relation of themselves to the world or the things that they are attempting to their own claims and expectations. The faculty of measuring one's place in the universe and in its daily events, in other words a knowledge of proportion, is the handmaiden of success. My ties to your city were made intimate in their beginning by a vigorous advocacy of the enlargement of the canals, both as member of the Legislature and Secretary of State.

Buffalo is a growth and not a boom. There is no place in the country which has advanced more accurately upon the lines of development which are clearly American. I went through a city recently in the South which was an example

of boom as against natural growth. There were streets and broad avenues, blocks of constructed business buildings, large plants built for the manufacturer to take possession of, streets of comfortable and cozy dwelling-houses, public squares and parks, a belt railroad and a trolley line already constructed, and yet, beyond the capitalists who invested their money, and the workmen while the construction was going on, the place had never had an inhabitant and never will. It was built upon air and scenery. The commercial centres of the world, in their origin, have cared little for health or views. Many of them have been founded in the swamps, when it has taken a century of effort to alleviate their malarial and miasmatic conditions. Their founding and their future have been the solution, in their location, of the problems of transportation; for, after all, the civilizer of the world and the concentrating power of its wealth and activities is transportation. It is along the highways of commerce that prosperous empires have been founded and populous cities constructed. "All roads lead to Rome," was the commercial maxim of antiquity. "All roads lead to New York" is the commercial maxim of the New World, and Buffalo is the gateway of New York. The de-

velopment of the internal commerce of the United States has been so great that the ocean gateway which brings to the metropolitan city of our imperial State three-fourths of the foreign commerce of the republic is a wicket in a farm fence compared with the wide doors and broad avenues through which this tremendous agricultural and manufacturing product of our country finds its way to the seaboard. The following few statistics are eloquent of the growth of this internal trade carried upon the railways, the lakes and the canals, which makes the United States not only the richest of nations, but self-sustaining and independent of them all.

The whole of the tonnage on the oceans of the world last year was about 140,000,000 of tons, while the tonnage of the railways of the world, carried one hundred miles, was about 1,400,000,000 of tons. There are 400,000 miles of railroad in the world, of which 180,000 are in the United States. Of the 1,400,000,000 of tons carried one hundred miles last year on the railways of the world, 800,000,000 of tons were carried on railways of the United States. You take the 600,000,000 of tons carried one hundred miles on the railways of the world outside of the United States, and

then you add to it 140,000,000 carried on the ocean in the commerce of the world upon the seas, and we still have in the 800,000,000 of tons carried on the railways of the United States 60,000,000 of tons more than on all the railways of the world outside of the United States, and in all the ocean commerce of the world put together. To this must be added the tonnage of the lakes, rivers and canals. This traffic is carried by the American railways at an average of eight mills per ton per mile, while the railroads of Great Britain charge two cents and eight mills, of France two cents and two mills, the government-owned roads of Germany two cents and six mills, of Italy two cents and five mills and of Russia two cents and four mills.

While commerce and transportation have made the earth habitable and created kingdoms and cities, they have been from the dawn of history down to the commencement of the last half century the servants of kings. This is because militarism has always ruled the world, and commerce and transportation have looked for protection to the royal power which commanded the fleets and armies, and, therefore, were the servants of the throne. In our peaceful days, commerce asserts

its righteous prerogatives, and thrones and caste and privilege are dependent for their existence upon the bankers and the merchants and the manufacturers. They are the true nobility—noble not in the achievements of remote ancestors, but in their own success and in what those triumphs have contributed to the wealth and the power of those countries.

There is no certainty about the future of an individual, of a city or a nation, until in the processes of development there have been substituted for hysterical, automatic processes. A man becomes so fixed in his principles, his industries and his career that automatically and under natural laws he expands and broadens and grows great in the same directions. So the country, following the lines of its origin and the traditions of its past, either goes to chaos, like China, or to disintegration, like Turkey, or expands from 3,000,000 to 70,000,000 of people, from thirteen states to forty-five states, from dependent colonies to an independent republic, from nothing in less than a century to one of the greatest powers of the world and possessing the most beneficent of governments, like the Republic of the United States. The Russian, the German, the Spanish, the Italian

reformer and radical sees no light except in revolution, which shall overthrow time-honored and existing conditions, and build upon their ruins he knows not what. His whole talent is concentrated upon destruction, leaving construction to come later. Even in France, as a Republic, revolution appears to be the aim of reform, while in England democracy hopes for the triumph of its ideas through a change of the Constitution of the British Empire, which can be effected only by processes which border upon, if they are not really, revolutionary. Our founders, on the other hand, under the primitive conditions which surrounded them, could test the principles of free government as they builded in the wilderness for settlement. Neither state, nor church, nor caste, nor privilege hampered them. Hamilton and Jefferson, and Adams and Jay were the products of the evolution of old ideas in a new school and a new country. The government which they founded was as naturally the product of heredity and experience as they were of the principles of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the Puritan Revolution, without their disabilities and the insuperable obstacles in ancient classes and constitutions which prevented their ancestors in the Old World from

practically working out their principles. Fearing dictatorship or royal authority on the one hand, which had been the repressive power in the Old World, and the dynamic force of popular passions on the other, as evidenced in the horrors of the French Revolution, they constructed the safest and most conservative government which the world has ever known.

Its processes of development have neither been hysterical nor accidental, but automatic. Its principles were certain to exterminate slavery and sure to prevent secession. It is the only form yet devised capable of indefinite expansion without weakening its cohesive power. All things have worked together for our glory and salvation. The foreigner who comes here and goes over our land concentrates his opinion in the single word, "bigness." But our bigness is one of the elements of our strength. It is not possible to conceive of a revolution, dangerous to our existence or to the integrity of our institutions, or to the conservative safeguards of life and property of which we are so proud, which will involve the whole Republic. The Debbs revolution, with the governors of states and the mayors of cities in sympathy, was a remarkable test. Though it involved

one-third of the states and one-half of the territory of the Union, yet with the Confederate veterans of the South eagerly proffering their services to the Government, and the sober sense of the New England and of the Middle States sustaining the President, the revolution was dissipated almost as quickly as it had originated, with the minimum of loss in life and property. So in our industrial and economic life, the Populist frenzy may involve half a dozen commonwealths, or a wild, passionate, unreasoning demand for debased currency may find almost unanimous expression in a large section of the Republic, and yet the sober sense and calm judgment of the rest, out of the range of dangerous ragings or enthusiasms, by mere inertia, wear out or crush out the dangerous excitement. Every year it becomes more difficult to involve the whole people in actions or opinions which may threaten the settled principles of government, or of commerce, or of trade.

Happily, it is only upon questions which affect the glory of the Union or the liberties of people of other countries, or the integrity of the American continent, upon which there can be unanimity of sentiment and unanimity of discussion in all parts

of our land. Then we see the value of the quick communication of the railway and the telegraph ; then we understand how we are one people, notwithstanding the vastness of our country and the diversity of our climates and people. If it is for the assertion of the Monroe Doctrine upon the lines recognized by every statesman, from Monroe and Henry Clay ; if it is for the success of the people of Cuba in their effort to throw off galling despotism, North, South, East, and West, we are one. But if the Republic finds itself stronger than ever in its concentrated power, and its ability to maintain intact the principles upon which it is founded and the policies which have made it great, at a time when agitation and threatening revolutions are imminent all over the world ; if it is true that the Republic owes its phenomenal ability to accomplish these results because modern inventions and discovery have brought the material world to the assistance of liberty, humanity, and justice, so it is happily the case that Buffalo finds herself in the midst of a most rapid and most hopeful development at a period when a successful solution of the municipal problem in the great cities of the country has demonstrated the possibilities of these large aggregations of populations governing them-

selves. Buffalo led the way for reform in municipal affairs and the honest government of cities. It was more difficult here than in New York or in Brooklyn, because in every organization long in power, no matter how bad it may be, are many excellent men who are bound by sundry ties to its success and hope for its reorganization. To make an attack which should be successful by men of the same general party affiliations requires that stern sense of duty, that willingness to sacrifice comfort and ease, which, by assailing the machine, break at the same time the friendships and the relations of a lifetime. Here in Buffalo, where acquaintance is universal and intimate, these conditions of municipal reform, which mean a revolt against the existing conditions, call for infinitely greater public virtue than in the metropolis, where the assault is upon the hydra-head of corruption and bad government, and not upon the neighbor and acquaintance or friend.

It was my good fortune to know very well the men who were making Buffalo thirty years ago, most of them older than myself, and some young men like myself. There were no feather-heads or lunatics among them. At the bar, among the young and the old, in that and a

few subsequent years, were Millard Fillmore, President of the United States, and Judge Hall, Postmaster-General. There were Henry W. Rogers and the courtly John Ganson; there were Bowen and Lanning and Putnam brothers and Hopkins, and still in their prime, our friends Postmaster-General Bissell and Sherman S. Rogers and E. C. Sprague, and Judge Daniels and Grover Cleveland. Where is there a bar of the same size which has contributed so much to the history of our state and country? Among the business men were William Williams and Gilbert T. Williams and Sherman S. Jewett and Pratt and Fargo and Tifft and Howard and Allen and Bush, with Elbridge G. Spaulding easily their chairman; while among the journalists rise before me three of the ablest moulders of public opinion I have ever known—James D. Warren, James N. Matthews and Charles McCune. Though often opposed to them on public matters, I owe to all of them and the journals which they created a debt of gratitude and friendship for the uniform courtesy and kindness with which for over thirty years their papers have treated me. I make the same acknowledgment to the living, the younger Matthews and Warren, the irrepres-

sible Butler and Bleistein, Mack, Kingsley and Cronin. There is something dramatic and interesting in the relations of two of these men to the history of our country—a drama with a moral and a lesson—one of them conspicuous as a Republican, the other conspicuous as a Democrat. In the darkest hour of the Civil War, when our resources were all but exhausted and our credit strained to the utmost, the question which agitated the statesmen of the period was, “By what process can we secure the means to purchase military supplies, to feed the soldiers, to sustain the army and the navy and carry on the war to the successful maintenance of the Republic?”

It was then that the banking brain of Elbridge G. Spaulding advised the greenback; the greenback, the savior of the nation. Like Columbus causing the egg to stand on end, it was the suggestion whose simplicity captured the country. “Sell the notes of the Government and let those who have faith in its stability and its future buy them according to the extent of their faith.” That was the greenback. They were sold at one hundred, fifty and thirty cents on the dollar. Frightful as was the discount, the

country in which we live and glory to-day shows the cost to be cheap.

Thirty-five years passed by. The Republic is peaceful within and has peaceful relations with all nations. It needs for its prosperity, for its recovery from industrial and financial panic, credit which comes from an unquestioned currency. Industrial distress produces distrust of time-honored principles and a plausible quack captures the imagination of multitudes of people. The madness assumes such volume and force that industry halts and our relations with commercial nations are sicklied with doubt as to our solvency and credit. The credit of the country had to be strained to the utmost to save the Republic in the time of the Civil War. The credit of the country had to be buttressed to the utmost by the principles of honor and unquestioned honesty to keep industries going, commerce moving and capital and labor employed in times of profound peace. Stepping out of the sphere of accustomed duties and assuming in the presence of a great public danger an official and personal responsibility, President Cleveland threw the great authority of his office on the side of honest money and a sound currency, and so I pay tribute to-night to two citizens of Buffalo who

each at his time did right: the one in limitless inflation of the currency, and the other in protecting the honest dollar.

You were between thirty thousand and forty thousand in numbers when I first became acquainted with you, and now you are near three hundred and fifty thousand. Your growth has become so automatic that while it owed much in the past to the men whose names I have mentioned and their associates, it is not in the power of any man or set of men to stop it now. But the development of public spirit has kept pace with material advancement.

In every city are a certain number of men who are called upon for every public work, and they are always the same men. If it is to rescue the city government from thieves; if it is for municipal reform upon broader lines than the mere incumbency of office; if it is to found a museum for the education of the people, or to build a library for public instruction, or to establish manual training and technological schools, or to elevate the common school so that the best education may be found by the children of the people in the people's own college, the number of the men who can be relied upon to undertake and successfully carry on the work is well defined in

every municipality in the United States. In New York, with two millions of inhabitants, it is seventy; in Chicago, with a million and three-quarters of inhabitants, it is sixty, associated in one of the most useful and public-spirited of clubs; in Buffalo, with three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, it is a hundred.

To this you owe the fact that your common schools and your high schools, your savings banks and your hospitals, your asylums and your homes, your parks and your driveways, your museums and your art centres and your libraries have kept equal pace with your material growth and development. This magnificent chain of lakes brings to your doors over the cheapest methods of transportation from the granary of the country the food products of the Republic. The level grades along the north and south shores of these inland seas make your city the terminus of the railroads from the west. The highway made by nature along the Mohawk Valley to the Hudson, and from the Hudson to the sea, has placed you in water communication, by the Erie Canal, with the Atlantic Ocean, and brought within your borders five of the trunk lines which bind the East to the West. You toll the food which maintains the vast manu-

facturing populations of New England, as well as that which comes for distribution through the cities of the state and to New York. Nature brings you health in the breezes from Lake Erie and Niagara River. Living upon the borders and knowing what war would mean, not only in carnage, but also in the checking of production and the destruction of industries, you are patriots and not jingoes. The boys living in Buffalo will see Niagara Falls within your corporation. Then Buffalo will stand unique among all cities of ancient or modern times. When, after the dedication of the Bartholdi Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, in the harbor of New York, I carried upon my car the representatives of the French Government to Niagara Falls, these distinguished statesmen and soldiers and sailors of France stood for a moment awe-struck in the presence of our mighty wonder of nature, and then Admiral Jouett broke out with the enthusiastic exclamation : " I have sailed the seas and seen all the sights in the world, and now having viewed this, I say without hesitation that this surpasses them all. If ever the stars and the planets hold an inter-universal exhibition the earth will send Niagara Falls."

In bidding you good-night, gentlemen, but not

good-by, for I hope we shall meet many times in the future, I want to again express to you my profound appreciation of this unique and distinguished honor. You might have waited until I was dead and passed a resolution to be engraved upon my tombstone, but it is sweeter far to enjoy taffy while living than to be decorated with epitaphy when dead.

May Buffalo in her marvelous future always have, as the representatives of her municipal life in every department of activity and aspiration, as generous, as gifted and as broad-minded sons as those who have made her what she is.

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